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and had an interview with Emperor Maximilian at Acapantzingo to impress upon him the need for such education in Mexico. In 1878 Rojas was appointed secretary of the Department of Public Education of the state of Morelos by Francisco Leyva, the first constitutional governor of the state. Later Rojas returned to the village and published a newspaper in Náhuatl called "Xocoyotzin" (*El Menor*), and also a paper in Náhuatl and Spanish called *El Grano de Arena*. In the eighties he organized a chapter of the Lancaster Society, an educational society which had been making inroads in Mexico at the time. Rojas also had many personal contacts with President Porfirio Díaz, and in 1908 was appointed professor of Náhuatl at the National Museum of Archaeology.

Shortly before the Revolution, a small Museum of Antiquities was founded in Tepoztlán, a public library was opened, and night classes for adult education were held. This cultural florescence, though short-lived and limited to a small group of Tepoztecan intellectuals, most of whom came from well-to-do *cacique* families, earned for Tepoztlán the reputation of being the Athens of Morelos. This group of intellectuals had considerable influence despite their small number, and were instrumental in sending many young Tepoztecans to schools outside and in setting a precedent for higher education which has inspired Tepoztecans to this day.

A landmark in the history of the development of Tepoztlán was the building of the railroad in 1897 through the upper part of the municipio, with a station at El Parque—which is about an hour's climb from the village of Tepoztlán. The building of the railroad was opposed by most Tepoztecans, and set off a sharp struggle between the local *caciques* and the population at large who accused the former of selling out the communal resources to the gringos. Despite this opposition, Tepoztecans participated in the benefits which came with the building of the railroad. Many of them worked as day laborers and received the then phenomenal wage of $1.50 a day, or well over three times the prevailing wages at haciendas. In addition there were hundreds of laborers from other villages, many of whom came down to Tepoztlán to buy supplies.

Trade flourished, and it is said that there were more stores and artisans in the village at that time than in the years between 1920 and 1930. This source of income, though temporary and favoring primarily the merchants, was one of the factors which contributed to the cultural florescence which was going on during this time. Tepoztecans came into contact with laborers from all over Mexico and with Americans. The first wire fencing and steel plows came into the village with the railroad, and the advent of freight trains stimulated the charcoal-making industry.

Tepoztlán is typical of another major current in Mexican history, the relationship and the struggles between the so-called free Indian villages and the haciendas. Because of the marginal location of Tepoztlán to the hacienda area, and because most of its lands were unsuitable for sugar and rice plantations, Tepoztlán managed to escape the aggrandizement of the haciendas, except for a portion of its southern lands which were lost to the Hacienda of Oacalco. But while Tepoztlán was able to retain most of its communal lands since the Conquest, it was close enough to the haciendas to serve as a convenient source of labor supply, and its economy was therefore intimately tied up with that of the hacienda system.

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427 A [redacted] who pays despite crop failure earns the reputation of being *muy honrado* (very honorable) and is sought as a renter.

There is no sharecropping as such in Tepoztlán. When rental is in corn, there is a fixed quantity of corn agreed upon in advance, rather than a percentage of the crop. The landowner, therefore, takes little risk.

LAND VALUES

423 435 178 458 469 The price of most agricultural lands, that is, the lands which Tepoztecans classify as second and third class, has increased more slowly than other lands, as can be seen in Table 26. During and immediately after the Revolution of 1910-20, land prices fell sharply. Many sold their land at any price in order to stave off starvation, and land parcels changed hands for a small quantity of corn. Since 1920, land prices have been rising steadily. This rise was accentuated by the new road which, with the influx of tourists who have sought land for summer homes, has made for a phenomenal rise in the price of house sites in the village. Distance from the road and from the central plaza, and proximity to one of the twenty-six water fountains, are the most important factors affecting the price of land.

TABLE 26. Land Prices From 1901 to 1944.

Year	Cost of House Sites (in Pesos)		Cost of Arable Land per Hectare (in Pesos)	
	10 to 500 Meters From Water Fountains	500 or More Meters From Water Fountains	Poorest Land	Best Land
1901–1910	60	40	40	60
1911–1920	30	15	10	20
1921–1926	40	25	25	100
1927–1930	70	50	60	150
1931–1935	100	75	120	200
1936–1940	175	125	200	400
1941	300	250	350	450
1942	500	300	400	500
1943	1,000	400	450	800
1944	2,000	1,000	500	1,000

423 432 178 The change in the Tepoztecan attitudes toward selling land to outsiders is one of the most interesting of all changes in the village. Until about 1942, Tepoztecans were very reluctant to sell their land to outsiders. A leading Mexican banker who wanted to build his home in the village had to negotiate for over a year before he could succeed in buying a modest-sized, idle plot of land whose Tepoztecan owner had been residing in Mexico City for many years. Similarly, one of my assistants had to wait for months before she was able to find a plot of land, and then she could only buy one at a considerable distance from the center.

When I returned to the village three years later, a change had occurred; Tepoz-

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culture quite attractive. One might ask therefore why more people do not work *tlacolol*. There are a number of reasons. First, the difficulty of the work discourages many, and the fact that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as work for the poor is also undoubtedly a factor. Second, many families who have worked as peons have no corn at the harvest and have to seek some cash income regularly to support their families. In other words, even in the case of *tlacolol* which takes so little capital a man must have corn to support his family if he is to spend the long periods of time necessary for clearing the scrub forest. Third, and by far the most important consideration, is the limited amount of *tlacolol* land; a shortage which is being felt more and more as the number of *tlacololeros* has increased. The *tlacolol* system of cutting and burning, by its very nature, demands large reserve areas; it takes about ten years for cleared land to grow back into scrub forest and be worth clearing again. If all the villagers were to open *tlacolol* clearings in a single year, there would be no possibility of planting in new clearings again for at least ten years.

The costs of hoe culture in terms of the value of man-days are much higher than in plow culture, but by the same token little hired labor is used. *Tlacolol* is practical only for people with a lot of time and little capital. It is much too inefficient a system for production for the market on a large scale. As we have seen in Table 37, there is considerable range in costs even in hoe culture. Most of this range in the cases cited is due to the difference between the two types of terrain used in hoe culture, that is, *cerro tlacolol* and *texcal tlacolol*. In the *cerro*, fencing is a much more time-consuming operation because there is more danger of cattle getting into the fields, but cattle rarely get into the *texcal*.

This brings us to one of the crucial problems in Tepoztlán, namely, the rapid increase of population with no accompanying increase in resources or improvement in production techniques. On the contrary, the increase in the number of *tlacololeros* represents a return to a more primitive type of production in an effort to escape the devastating effects of a money economy during a period of inflation. We have already noted the sharp rise in the cost of renting or buying a team of oxen as well as other tools of plow culture, and we have also noted that only about one-third of all landowners have their own oxen teams. Labor costs have also gone up, and indeed the wages paid to day laborers in Tepoztlán are considerably higher than in other parts of Mexico, perhaps because of the proximity of Tepoztlán to large urban centers. In any case these costs are beyond the capacity of many Tepoztecans, and they turn to *tlacolol*. *Tlacolol* has eased for many the shock of the rapid rise in prices. Although it is helping to resolve the immediate problem, it by no means offers a satisfactory solution. In fact, it increases the problems to be faced.

Were Tepoztlán a primitive culture with the usual high birth rate and high death rate, and stable and small population, the technique of *tlacolol*, though wasteful and inefficient, might be workable. But in the face of an ever-increasing population and higher standards of living, the primitive techniques of *tlacolol* no longer seem to be feasible. The necessity of clearing new plots of land every third year, the rapid depletion of the land and its forest resources, and the consequent danger of erosion are problems which will soon have to be reckoned with.

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San Pablo Oxtotepec. Here we stopped to have lunch and then continued to San Salvador, then down to San Andrés Agueyac, then to San Lorenzo, then to Xochimilco. By 5:40 P.M., we were generally at the place in Xochimilco when the canoes left. If there were no canoes we walked all night. We generally arrived in Mexico City the following morning and took our fruit to the market.

Some inter-village trade still occurs at the time of fiestas and village *ferias*. However, Tepoztecan trading contacts seem to have become limited for the most part to Cuernavaca. Yautepec, at one time the key market for much of Tepoztecan produce, has now faded in comparison with the role of Cuernavaca.

The circulation of goods and money in Tepoztlán is generally small, but it varies considerably with the seasonal cycles. It is lowest during the months of May, June, July, and August, which is a period of scarcity. The most rapid circulation of goods and the greatest volume of money transactions occur after the plum harvest in September and October, and again after the corn and bean harvest in December and January. Money from plums is generally used to buy new clothing for the family.

Perhaps the most important single occasion for spending during the year is at the Carnaval, which comes in February after the harvest. I have estimated that approximately 50,000 pesos are spent by the villagers for the Carnaval. It is an occasion for buying new clothes, but the largest expense is for the elaborate costumes of the Chinelo dancers. A costume in 1947 cost as much as 800 pesos, and there were 45 dancers from the three competing barrios. Of course most of the costumes are used from year to year, but there is always the expense of repairing and improving them. Some people rent the costumes. The food expense is also great; musicians from each of the competing barrios are fed by the leading families in the barrio. In addition, most families entertain on this day.

The tourist trade has brought some income to Tepoztlán, especially to storekeepers, vendors of soft drinks, and the owners of the two tourist houses, but most of the money spent by these Tepoztecans goes to Cuernavaca.

The other important occasions for spending in Tepoztlán are the barrio fiestas, the gifts for *compadres* at baptisms, the expenses of the groom in weddings, and the expenses for the wakes and funerals.

There are a few corn merchants in the village who speculate in corn by buying in small quantities throughout the year to sell at higher prices during June to September. Speculation in corn is apparently an old practice in the village, for as early as 1579 we find complaints of Tepoztecans against price fixing by local politicians. Some of the corn merchants will make loans on the future corn crop and will be paid back in corn at the time of harvest.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

There are no organized credit facilities in Tepoztlán. Although a few hundred Tepoztecans have had *ejido* parcels since 1930, no *ejido* credit has come to the village. It is said that an effort had been made at one time to obtain such credit but

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Unfortunately, we were not equipped to analyze family diets in terms of nutrition or caloric values, nor to determine the presence of vitamins, minerals, and other food elements. In our comparison of the two weekly diets presented here, we can only point to some of the quantitative aspects involved. These tend to parallel and support the more detailed data gathered by Beals and Hatcher in their study of the diet of Cherán.[10] The "wealthy" diet in Cherán is higher in vitamins A, B_1, and B_2 and protein and calory intake but lower in vitamin C than the "poor" diet. The latter was deficient in vitamins B_1 and B_2 and low in proteins and calories; vitamin C intake was higher because of the greater use of chile.

In Tepoztlán, we find that the wealthier family spends twelve times as much on the important protein foods—meat, eggs, and cheese—and that they also consume a larger quantity of beans, which is another source of protein. The high consumption of milk, in contrast to the complete absence of milk in the diet of the poor family, is important as a nutritional difference. The greater weekly consumption of sugar, fruits, and sweets would also result in higher calory intake for the wealthier family. Although the poor diet includes somewhat more chile, which is a good source of vitamin C, the better diet includes some vitamin C because of greater fruit consumption. The reliance of the poor family on wild greens, absent in the diet of the wealthier family, is an important source of minerals and vitamins.

The consumption of bread provides another strong contrast in the diet of our rich and poor families. The rich spend 28 times more on bread, or 13 per cent of the total weekly food expenditure. This item, which, in addition to its nutritional aspects, is an important indicator of social and economic status in Tepoztlán, represents an expenditure of 1.4 per cent for the poor family. The basic homogeniety of the Tepoztecan diet is deceptive in terms of nutrition and, in all probability, in terms of the simple satisfaction of hunger as well. It is not insignificant that all the children in the poorer family are small, thin, pale, and listless, while the two grown children in the wealthier family appear well nourished and well developed.

Diet is also affected by fluctuations in the cost of food. During the year there are seasonal changes, prices generally being higher in the months before the harvest, beginning with May, and dropping after the harvest. It is in the pre-harvest period when most families keenly feel a shortage of cash. But more important than seasonal variations in food costs is the fact that prices have risen sharply and steadily from 1926 to the present. This rise, more than any other factor, has tended to maintain the traditional or conservative diet in Tepoztlán and to hold back the definite trend toward new foods and greater variety. For instance, although the consumption of bread is viewed as desirable and has increased considerably (the number of bakers rose from 6 to 24 between 1926 and 1944), it is still a luxury for a large proportion of the population. The price has more than doubled in the past four years and is still rising. We find a strong correlation between the degree of wealth

[10] Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher, "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October, 1943), pp. 298–301.